ILLYRIA

lowed in 11 and 16 B. C. and in 6 and 9 A. D., 175 x joined by the rebel Pannonians. Finally, Tiberius completely subjugated them in 9 A. D. along with Dalmatia, Iapidia and Liburnia, forming them into the Province of Illyricum.

For the next two or three centuries Latin civilization flourished in Illyria. Industrially, [314] gold was mined in Bosnia and commercial cities sprang into being along the coast. Agri- [345] culturally, the cultivation of the vine was introduced with more than satisfactory results. Almost the whole of Illyria became a recruiting ground for the Roman legions, and in turbulent times, from the East, many of the Illyrian soldiers fought their way up to the imperial purple. Claudius, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian and Maximian were all sons of Illyrian peasants. Through the growth in importance of Illyricum, many districts were added and thus in the second century A. D. the *Illyricum Times* included Noricum, Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia and Thrace.

The Via Egnatia which extended from 491 • Dyrrachium, across Illyricum to Constantinople, was built during this period, in this manner forming a definite link between Rome and Constantinople.

* [Errata: should be maximinus. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 269, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

101 "Shqipetar"[1] originated with Pyrrhus of Epirus. It is related that when the swiftness of his troops was praised, Pyrrhus proudly answered that this was natural, inasmuch as his soldiers were the sons of the eagle, their movement as the flight of the king of birds.

000 Subjection to Rome, however, did not mean that the Shqipetars[1] were to give up all hope for independence.

• 491 Eventually Albania became the passage-way for the Roman legions on their way to the East. Embarking at Brindisi, the terminus of the Appian Way, they were transported to Dyrrachium (Durazzo—Durrës in Albanian language), continuing their journey on the Via Aegitana or Egnatia, the road bed of which is well preserved to the present day.

177 On the whole, Roman influence in Albania had been of little importance. Remains of Roman architecture and civilization may be seen throughout the country even today, but the influence of Rome in shaping the course of Albanian domestic culture or national life has been slight or was completely absorbed by later invasions.

1 [Errata: should be Shqipëtar] Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, Cat. 116--Analyst]

ALESSIO

361 Alessio (Lesh in the Albanian language) is easily accessible from all points of the compass. One of the newer roads terminates at San Giovanni di Medua, Shën Gjin in Albanian, which is a small port in the northern part of Albania.

This village, with a population of 3,000, is rapidly becoming a thriving town although it is more dominated over by Scutari. Here has ●491 been built a new bridge, one of the government projects, across the Drin River, however, the ancient bridge has not been demolished.

000 From a historic standpoint this charming town has enough to occupy an archaeologist for some time, not to mention the lovely setting of which Alessio is justly proud.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 AlbaniaEG1

491

THE ZOGU BRIDGE OVER THE MATI RIVER AT MILOTI

(facing p. 496)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania
Eo 1

Roads

• 491 IN few other countries has there been such giant steps taken in furthering the development and welfare of a nation as has been the case in Albania since the inauguration of the present regime. No field has been overlooked: Agriculture, Banking, Education, Industry, Trade and all other forms of internal services including roads. It is of vital importance to the wealth of a nation to have adequate means of transportation, and, since 1925, the king and government has given much careful consideration to the development and improvement of roads and construction of bridges.

In the northern part of the country, a very important road from Scutari, through Pukë, to the Yugoslavian border has been commenced and will very soon be ready. This road is seventy-five miles in length and unites the main sections of the Scutari and Kosova districts. Another road of great national benefit is the so-called Dibra-Road, which has its beginning at the new Zogu Bridge, near

ROADS

491 Miloti, and makes its way to the Yugoslavian frontier, which is a distance of over eighty miles, connecting some of the most fertile regions of the interior with the port of Durazzo and with Tirana, thus making an outlet for the tremendous agricultural sections and forming new markets for commerce and trade.

Amongst some of the well constructed roads in Albania which lend much to the enjoyment of the country and enhances its commercial value are those from Kruja to Mati, a distance of about thirty-three miles, from Peshkopi sixty miles to Librazhd, which road connects with that running between Elbasan and Tirana, a distance of thirty-four miles. Another of these roads is the one from Lushnja leading to Fier twenty miles away, where a spur runs on to Valona.

Numerous roads throughout the country are rapidly nearing completion, and once finished will prove a decided advantage for further developments in every field of industry; the agricultural districts will be brought nearer their natural marketing centers, and will facilitate the traffic between individual markets.

The total mileage of the roads in Albania

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

• 491 that were completed by March 31, 1933, was approximately two thousand one hundred miles.

Due to the unusual and difficult formations of the country, especially in the mountainous regions where the flow of water is constant and therefore presents the necessity of numerous large and small bridges, a complication is arrived at which no other country has to cope with. In spite of the colossal interference, however, the number of permanent bridges has increased from three hundred sixty in 1921 to eight hundred in 1928. But the last six years have seen even greater strides and by March 31, 1933, Albania had two thousand six hundred and seventy-four permanently constructed bridges, and still work continues!

Albania has many roads leading to her neighbors on the three points of the compass, the following of which are the principal ones:

I. In a northeasterly direction from Scutari to the Albanian border near Hani i Hotit, and afterwards to Yugoslavia through to Podgorica, a distance of twenty-one miles.

II. Another eastern route having its source at Scutari leads from Cattaro (Yugoslavia) via Antivari and Dulcigno or by Cetinje, Ritjeka,

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Virbazar and then Antivari and Dulcigno to the Albanian-Yugoslavian frontier near Gorica, and afterwards via Obliki to Scutari. 491

III. Twelve miles southeast from Peshkopi, the road winds its way from Dibra (Dibër) to the Albanian-Yugoslavian border near Biladë, (Albania), and continues southwards from Biladë to Librazhd, a distance of sixty miles. At Librazhd, the road branches to the west towards Durazzo and Elbasan (Elbasan being about twenty-five miles from Librazhd); and the southern fork leads to Pogradec and Korça, the former town being about thirty-seven miles from Librazhd.

IV. Qafa e Thanës is a border line town between Albania and Yugoslavia and is used in the east of Albania for the road coming from Struga, Yugoslavia, which forks, going eastwards to Librazhd, and southwards to Pogradec and Korça. The distance from Qafa e Thanës to Pogradec is about twenty-seven miles, and from Pogradec to Korça is approximately forty-six miles.

V. From Korça a road extends southeast along the Albanian-Greek frontier. On another more round-about route, the traveller finds himself in three countries in a radius of little more than fifty miles, for this road begins at Monastir (Yugoslavia) and continues, via Florina (Greece), to Bilisht (Albania).

VI. The road from Janina (Greece) leads, via Ersek-Leskovik (Kolonja) in a northeastern direction to Korça by way of Perat. The distance between these cities being: Perat to

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

• 491

Leskovik thirteen miles; Leskovik to Ersek approximately forty-seven miles, and from Ersek to Korça about forty-one miles.

VII. Another road comes northeastward to Argyrokastro (Gjinokastra), from Janina, to the Albanian frontier at Kakavi; about nine miles to the rear of Kakavi, at Yorgusati, the road branches: One fork continues to Delvina and Santi Quaranta (Saranda), the former town being twenty-four miles from Yorgusati; and the other on to Argyrokastro, a distance of seventeen miles from Yorgusati.

For those travellers desirous of visiting Albania by automobile, it will be found to be more advantageous to use the Gorica road in the northern part of the country and, entering from the east, the road northwards from Pogradec via Qafa-e-Thanë. In the south, the more desirable road is by way of Bilisht, also the roads from Perat to Korça and from Kakavi to Santa Quaranta (Saranda) and Argyrokastro; the road from Dibra (Dibër) to Librazhd having too many slopes.

By far one of the most beautiful and interesting of roads in Albania is the one opened on July 2, 1933, between Tirana and Elbasan, and is thirty-four miles in length. Since it is only an hour and fifteen minutes' journey it should be of great assistance in opening the

ROADS

central part of the country. Before this road was constructed, the traveller had to go by way of Durazzo and spend some four hours on the journey. And only ten years ago, it was necessary to go on horse-back over the difficult pass of Krrab and spend a minimum of eleven hours on the trip. Thus the progress of Albania!

Taking this motor-route from Tirana, one first follows the interesting old caravan path that was made through the years. But soon the main road veers off because the path took the steeper climb upward.

This road has to cross many new bridges which are very compactly built and substantial, one of these being the long bridge over the Erzen into Petrela.

Upon leaving Petrela, one begins the long, steady pull upward to the summit of the pass of Krrab. However, the gradients are never very steep, but there are many long ascents. This mountain pass is really an achievement in road-making: The road twists and turns ever upward with strong embankments above and below. In the more dangerous parts of the road, powerful balustrades have been erected to insure the riders' safe passage. The

3. Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

• 491 firm and solid foundation is very good, being metalled with the famous local stone which is said to have durability enough to serve as grindstones for flour mills.

At the summit of the pass, very heavy blasting was necessary and many thousands of dollars were spent for sufficient dynamite. The road runs along the spine of the ridge for some distance, affording much beautiful scenery. Upon leaving the summit, the road begins to unwind itself slowly down to the great plains of Elbasan, and the traveller feels he has had a magnificent view of a picturesque and romantic country in complete safety.

Thus we see Albania with connecting arteries throughout the nation which allows easy passage from Yugoslavia to Greece and vice-versa and facilitates passage with the whole of Europe. The economic importance of these routes have already been mentioned, for economically a country depends upon good communication and this is why the construction of roads and bridges properly heads the list of public works.

Nothing could be of more pleasure and interest than travelling in Albania to-day with

ROADS

its well-constructed and durable roads which cross at all parts of the country. For those who have not the leisure to travel slowly in their own automobiles or one of those which may be easily hired with careful and skilled chauffeurs, and yet who wish to travel independent of the time-tables of the official service, there are motor-coaches available which make excellent connections with each other in any town. Albania may be reached by good roads from Greece and Yugoslavia; by sea on Italian, Greek or Yugoslavian lines and by air from any metropolis in a few short hours.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

842 remove the charm. If an Albanian, having lost his first wife, marries a second in what the relatives of the deceased may consider indecent haste, they revenge themselves upon him by pouring water upon the grave of his dead wife, in the belief that this will have the effect of causing his second spouse to be childless.

761 751 Among the Christian Tosks, if two or more children of a family have died in infancy, the next born baby is passed three times through a kind of iron tripod. If yet another child dies, the next baby is placed where four roads meet, a silver cross, for which nine women who bear the name of Maro have given the metal, is laid on its body, and the first passer-by is [608] asked to be godfather or godmother to it.

782 In some places, the neighbourhood of Dibra, for instance, black sheep are said to be sacrificed by witch-wives for the benefit of sick persons. Similar sacrifices appear to be now substituted for those of human beings, who, in the popular traditions of the Albanians, [491] as in those of other nations, are said to have been formerly buried under the foundations of important buildings;[1] for Von Hahn relates that, during the present century, when a new bridge was about to be built by the Governor-General's orders over the rapid river Arcen, twelve sheep were sacrificed, their heads being buried under the piers, in order that they might be able to withstand the force of the current.

789 731 When swarms of locusts or cockchafers, as some-

[1] See, for instance, the Greek song of "The Bridge of Arta," *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 81; and "The Monastery of Argis" in Alexandri's *Ballades de la Roumanie*.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGI Albania EGI

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491

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6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

POSTSCRIPT

Cicero sat with parchment and stylus, writing 361
home to Rome for money to pay his way back—
because, as he admitted with some chagrin, he
had wasted all his substance in that merry and
wicked city. Even for Cicero Durazzo had, in
addition to its living charms, the flavor of an-
tiquity, for the Roman city was built on the
ruins of the older Albanian seaport.

A year earlier there had been no automobiles
in Albania, but now, to our surprise, we found
a valiant small Ford waiting at the pier, and
engaged it at once to take us to Tirana, forty
miles away. Our baggage was a problem until [609]
the chauffeur of a government truck, addressing
us in French, volunteered on his own responsi-
bility to take it to the capital for us. "Pay?
Mais, non!" said he, hurt. "You are Americans,
and the stranger in Albania is our guest."

The road from Durazzo to Tirana crossed the 491 •
low mountains that, from Trieste to Valona,
make the endless monotonous eastern wall of the
Adriatic. When you come over the crest of them
you see lying before you the green low central
valley and the farther blue peaks of the lands of
the hidden tribes. And everything accustomed, 492
everything commonplace, everything that reflects
ourselves to us, is left behind. Gray water buf-
falo, flat-nosed, curly-horned, monstrous beasts
that seem risen from depths of primeval slime,
plod down the road drawing high, narrow wagons
of wickerwork on huge wooden wheels. Shaggy,
small donkeys carry picturesque folk down the

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

POSTSCRIPT

[492] winding road to Shijak, the village by the river
• 491 where the bridge begins and ends in willow groves.

Beyond Shijak the road goes over the last low
[133] hill, and twenty miles of plain lie before it, most sparsely dotted with the great white houses of the beys of central Albania. Against the eastern sky the towering mountains, with their eternal smoke of clouds, catch the last rays of the sun and make magic with it. For an hour the colors shift and change, plum purple, orange gold, mauve and violet and sea green, until at last only a pale gold moon and a silvery star shine in a lemon-yellow sky. And the seven white minarets of Tirana lift above the green of trees.

342 Dusk was on the plain, and lights were glimmering through little houses here and there, when we came to Tirana. No, the lights do not glimmer through windows; these houses of peasants on the great estates have no windows, as they have no chimneys. The light of the evening fire, built on the earthen floor, shines through walls woven of willow withes, and the smoke seeps through thatched roofs.

373 Before us twinkled the street lamps of Tirana. These are literally lamps, filled every day with kerosene and set on their poles, to be lighted with a match after the evening call to prayer from the minarets. Our little car passed between low, ghostly white walls, and stopped before the gendarmerie. An officer came out, lifted one of the street lamps from its pole and held it over the car door, the better to see us.

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7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

among ourselves. There we took stock of what we had learned, and sought to impose a definite pattern on the many projects we had so often revolved on the march, or discussed around the hearth at night. Our first aim from the beginning had been to raise the Ghegs against the Germans, both with the laudable object of killing our enemies wherever and whenever possible, and, above all, so as to disrupt their overland communications: the main road from Tirana to Scutari and its lateral links with Macedonia — the roads from Tirana to Dibra and from Scutari to Kukes and Prizren. These roads were important targets; for the German troops in Albania depended upon them for their communications with the Reich, and they also afforded the second of the two lines of retreat open to the enemy's garrisons in Greece.

The thinkers who inspire, and the historians who record, the course of revolutions tend naturally to dwell on those ideological issues which lend them their distinctive character. In the making, however, they more often appear to the revolutionary, as wars do to the strategist, in terms of power and technique. The first object, therefore, of our reconnaissances had been to discover what was the distribution of power in North Albania.

The strongest force in the land was still the German army, but the roots of its strength were abroad, and our journeys had shown us that its influence was on the wane. Among the Ghegs power lay in the armed might and resources of the tribes, and, to a much smaller extent, in the wealth of the merchants and the landowners of the plain. The strength of the tribes was sapped by their disunity and was never canalised into any higher unit of organisation than the tribe itself. Nevertheless, geographical barriers tended to separate the tribes into distinct regional groups; and, within one or more such groups, they were sometimes brought together by a man pre-eminent among them by his personal ability, family tradition, or wealth. Such a leader enjoyed influence rather than authority; for his following was never more than a loose, voluntary, and shifting confederacy of tribes and parts of tribes, intolerant of any form of discipline. These confederacies were none the less the

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER II

THE UNWRITTEN LAW IN OUTLINE

To ensure for all, irrespective of their individual material wealth, a fair share of the essential grazing, arable land and irrigation, there has grown up a corpus of Unwritten Law. This was evolved at some unknown date by the mountaineers, as part of the legal framework which they had devised for every aspect of their life. They evolved all their laws—social, administrative, or pastoral—unaided. For many centuries before the Turks arrived in the fifteenth century, the country was split up into a number of principalities, none of which was strong enough for long to subject a neighbour to its rule. Though the Turks remained for four and a half centuries, they could never exert more than a nominal authority outside the chief towns. If they sent a punitive column into the interior, the people living in the mountains took evasive action, retreating to some peak until the inevitable departure of the intruders; their wealth was so small that they could carry or drive off most of it to their refuge, and so lost little from the raid. If the Turks sent tax or police officials, they fired on them at the first defile as a warning to return to their offices in town. There were no roads along which forces strong enough to be effective could march, in order to reduce them to real submission. The Turkish government, unable to enforce its will, accepted the situation and left the mountaineers to govern themselves, as they had presumably done under their native princes and chiefs. The first all-weather road to be built in North Albania was constructed in 1916 by the Austro-Hungarian armies during their temporary occupation; it ran from Shkodër to Durrës, with a branch to Tirana.

Every type of unwritten law has been constantly recast, added to, and restated down the centuries by a body of experts drawn from the rank of rulers. This rank exists because the mountaineers came to realize that an entity which is divided against itself cannot stand. Consequently, in every social unit—in house and village as in tribe or group of villages—the principle of subordination to a supreme head was accepted. In a household the headship is hereditary, with an important qualification. As the mountaineers are aware that

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

A man's house, simple or elaborate, was his own, and he could do what he would with it up to a point. But he held it on conditions laid down by the Unwritten Law. This law defined a house as 'any hut or building of one, two, or more storeys that has a hearth and emits smoke', and insisted that poor house and rich house are alike inviolable. A stranger might not enter either without first hailing the master by name. If very discreet, he would call out from some distance; if bolder or on friendly terms with the family, he might lawfully enter the yard first. If no one answered his call, he must wait there or go away. On no account might he push the door open; that would make him a housebreaker. In the old days it would have cost him the usual penalties for theft, a fine of five hundred *grosh* ('piastres') for housebreaking, plus the obligation to send the family two of every article found missing after his visit, and even more recently it caused strife that might end in shooting. It was of no use for him to plead that he knew the master was from home; he knew also that somebody must have been left in the master's place.

The law allowed a man to erect a new house anywhere on his own ground, subject to the all-important provision that it did no harm to his neighbour's house and ground. In this connexion the term 'house' comprised, not only the dwelling, but also the farmyard wall or fence, and everything that this enclosed. It followed that a new house must be kept at least the width of its eaves from the neighbour's boundary to make sure that the rain dripping from them should not damage his property. The method most commonly adopted to ensure this was to leave space enough for a man to pass on foot between the new house and the neighbour's boundary. If a man wanted plenty of elbow-room, however, he might build his house as much as two *pashë* ('fathoms') from the boundary. As his visitors were as free as members of his family to use the empty space, a sizeable road was soon trodden out. Sometimes, too, a man who looked into the future left room for a road that was still non-existent but might one day be wanted by the community, in which contingency his house would otherwise have had to be pulled down and rebuilt elsewhere.

There were also a number of minor rules to be remembered in building. According to the law in Fulqet, if several men had contiguous land, they must build their houses as near as possible to the point at which their land met. Otherwise their several dogs

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER VIII

ROADS

Very strict rules were laid down for the construction and the maintenance of roads, 'the arteries of the land' as they were called by the tribesmen.

Two main types were recognized: the public highway, 'the big road', or 'the general road' and the footpath. The former led through a village or from one village to another, and consequently was often called the 'village road'. Yet another name was 'ward road' of a village which separated two wards. A footpath lay most often across fields, but it seemed only in Zerqan that it was described as a 'field-path', 'road wide enough for a foot', or plain 'road'.

The law said that a public highway must be a horse-track, wide enough for a loaded packhorse or a pair of plough-oxen with their plough to pass along it, unimpeded by any hedges, walls or trees that might fringe it. The minimum width allowable was consequently eight spans, the equivalent of $5\frac{1}{3}$ feet or 1·62 metres. Where more space was available, whether on mountain wastes as in Martanesh or waterless downs as in Perlat, the road was often wider, so it was eight to twelve spans wide in Çermenikë, ten to twelve in Martanesh and Godolesh, sixteen in Zerqan and twenty-four in Perlat. In spacious Krasniqë a road for plough-oxen was usually a trifle wider than a horse-track, but there were no hard and fast rules for the width of either; the only criterion was traffic needs.

Provided that a man carrying a spade on his shoulder could pass, a footpath was wide enough; rules were not so rigid for these as for highways. Consequently some were only one, and many, especially in Mirditë, only two spans wide. In other places, however, footpaths from three to six spans in breadth were found. In general a path across irrigable, cultivated land tended to be narrow and one across, say, rough pasturage broad.

These rules were for mountain roads, where there were usually so many stones that there was no mud, and the ground remained firm under the feet in all weathers. A highway across a plain,

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

especially near the sea, where the soil is alluvial and stoneless, had to be thirty-two spans wide (7 yards or 6·48 metres) in order to give a pack-horse space to dodge the mud-holes in winter, when the road became a morass. Excellent examples of this type of road traverse the half-drained marshes of Ngurëzë at the mouth of the river Mat.

Mountain roads eight spans wide led to villages 'where carts had never gone'. Certain other roads led to the rare villages 'where carts had gone'. These crossed firm inland plains such as the floor of the valley of Shkrel or the plain of Nangë in Lumë; in Shkrel they had to be twelve spans wide (8 feet or 2·43 metres), and in Lumë wide enough to take a cart. A picturesque detail from Mirditë is that a 'flag-road', that is to say, a road along which a flag was carried in tribal, wedding or other processions, had to be as wide as the flagstaff was long.

Roads always followed boundaries; as a general rule, when one passed two wards or two neighbours, exactly half of it had to be in the territory of each. In other words, their boundary had to run down its exact middle. Few modifications of this law are to be noted. When fields were on a slope, the road between them was often made on the upper one. The elders laying it out had reasoned that it would gradually slip down the hill, increasing the area of the upper field and diminishing that of the lower one. When there was an irrigation channel by the road, rules varied. In Theth one neighbour left three spans of land for the channel, and the other the same amount for the adjacent footpath. Their agreement might be verbal, noted only by witnesses, or it might be written down by the priest as tribal clerk and placed in the church archives. Each neighbour had full access to path and channel alike. In Lumë, on the other hand, a path was left on both sides of an irrigation channel. These were not only for men to walk on but also for maintaining the sides of the channel, a necessary safeguard even on level ground. Each neighbour, having his own path, was less liable to quarrel with the other.

In Perlat a highway was twenty-four spans wide (16 feet or 4·86 metres), to enable a horse laden with firewood to pass another without the loads touching. Elsewhere there was no provision for two-way traffic. Road-making in our sense did not exist, and roads were merely trodden out by man or beast in the scanty space available between fields or across mountain slopes. On a typical

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

685 A man could not, without the elders' consent, close an old road
491 that, having been used by his fellow-travellers, bridal parties and
494 funeral processions, was public property. If he did, it was reopened
423 by the elders, sometimes by force. He was often fined too. If he had ploughed it up, so that its line was uncertain, they sought out an old trustworthy man and made him show them under oath and in the presence of witnesses where it had been. Then the offender was ordered to open it again, removing any fence he had erected and, by way of penalty, to give a meal and small fee to the old man and the witnesses. If he shut it up once more he was liable to be shot.

491 As always, there were exceptions to the general rule. Owing to
494 the marshy nature of the land most of the fields near the mouth of
423 the river Mat were enclosed by hedges of living willow and
[487] communicated with each other by stiles, not gates. If the public, having formed a shorter route, no longer used a certain field-path, the owner of the field could close the path and the stiles at either end without any compulsion to reopen them; the public had the shorter road and one was enough. If a man bought a field which had a road round it and a right-of-way through it, he had the right to close the latter and to make the public go by the road; only if a long detour was involved could he be forced to leave the right-of-way open. On the other hand, if his new-bought field was bordered not by a road but by another field, he could not block the right-of-way unless he made a new road entirely within his own boundaries. This was substantially the law which governed changes of road all over north Albania. In Lumë a distinction was drawn between permanent roads which had to remain open all the year round and winter roads which could be closed in summer. The first were known as 'roads with a boundary'; the most important led to the high pastures on Mount Gjalicë. Winter roads generally went through fields and were closed to men and animals from seed-time to harvest; as soon as the crop was in, the roads were opened to traffic. If somebody had great need to use one during the season, he might take what he could carry and go along the very edge of the sown land, taking pains not to damage the growing crop. He could not make a habit of this or take his horse and must not forget to ask leave from the owner of the land. Again, a few roads to the Alpine pastures passed through wheat fields on their way. As a necessary link with the high pastures they could not be completely closed even when the fields were under crop. An ingenious

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

compromise reconciled the public's need to use the road and the individual's wish to protect his crop without incurring the intolerable expense of making a fence or wall. One neighbour put two hurdles across his half of the road, one where it entered and the other where it left his land; both were low enough for men to jump over and high enough to keep back animals. Each had a hole at the bottom that was too small for animals to crawl through but big enough to let logs through when they were dragged down from the mountain for fuel; logs for fuel were such a necessity of life that they could not be denied a road. The other neighbour threw across his half of the road the Christ's Thorn which grows all over the plains of Albania, thus making a formidable barrier for men and beasts. Shutting up this half of the road did not matter; animals had no right in any case to go near a sown field, and the other man's hurdle was sufficient for human traffic. After harvest the thorns were removed, leaving that half of the road clear. The hurdle remained in place, as the clear half of the road was wide enough for the traffic.

In 1935 a man from Nangë in Lumë blocked the road along an irrigation channel for the summer, half of it with a low wall and half with thorns, so that men, but not animals, could still travel on it. He had wished to sow maize in his adjoining field and been too poor and short-handed to construct a fence to keep out animals. Since irrigation was so important, there was a special law that 'a road beside an irrigation channel can't be shut up'. Consequently, his act was highly illegal. But his poverty was thought to excuse it, and he had mitigated his offence by making a new road for animals at the top of his field, where there was no maize. In so doing he had confused the right to block a road for the summer only and the need, when closing one permanently, to provide a substitute. For the law forbidding a man to block an old road permanently was not rigid. If he had good reason for the change, secured the consent of the elders (a most important point), and provided a satisfactory substitute, he could even move a very old road. It was only if he failed to satisfy these conditions that he had to leave it where it was. The poor man just mentioned transgressed by not consulting the elders; their unusual clemency lay in refraining, out of consideration for his poverty, from reopening the road.

When a man applied for leave to close an old village road, he generally pleaded damage by passers-by or a need for more land to

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

till. In the first case he might have his house or field adjoining the road and find his dog biting strangers and shot for its pains, his children killed by passing horses or cattle, and his crops, vegetables, vines or fruit damaged or plundered. Or the road might cross his field necessitating a fence on both sides, thus preventing his sheep from passing freely from one part of the field to another, besides involving him in expense for making and maintaining it. In the second case he might wish to plough up the road, a good plea since the law said 'Agriculture can move a highway', and more pithily, 'spades can shift roads'. If the elders on investigation considered his request justifiable, they gave him leave to close the old road. They required, however, that he should provide a satisfactory substitute, not by a stream where sheep might drown or across a precipice where they might break their necks; if the precipice could not be avoided, the rock had to be blasted away with dynamite. The new road could not be far from the old one, a distance of 200 metres being the maximum allowed. It had also to be made by the man's own unaided efforts, without any help from the community, and it had to be well made. If it was poorly made, the man suffered himself when he came to grief on it and had to pay damages when another did so; he was also laughed at by his neighbours as a foolish creature who did not know how to make a road; often they went and reopened the old road. In Fulqet it did not matter if the public was inconvenienced by the change; the law said 'land must not be spoiled'. In the Breg i Matit, on the other hand, the new road had to be shorter and so more convenient. A curious point in Krasniqë was that if a man ploughed up his field he could reduce the public road to the width of a footpath; this was little more than a gesture, since oxen and horses could not in any case use the road after the field was sown and a footpath was wide enough for other traffic. In Martanesh it was never lawful to plough up a public road, perhaps because the fields were few and very scattered, and the roads few, long and often dangerous.

In case of clear necessity an old public road might be moved on the initiative of the elders. If, for example, it was inconveniently crooked or became a morass in winter, they could divert it to better ground. The old road became the property of the man whose land adjoined it. The men whose land was taken for the diversion received no compensation. They often threatened to kill the elders, but for sole reply received an exposition of the law; they might

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

shoot as much as they pleased but could not have their way; the village could not be shut up by mud, and the public good overrode private loss. The new road was a permanency and could not be closed or moved back to the old site except by the elders. According to Vatë Marashi, the bajraktar of Shkrel, it was easier to move the bad road than to try to mend it. If it was under water, all the owners of the land through which it ran had to unite to repair it, making a ditch, repairing bridges and so on. But they had to decide unanimously to repair it; if even one hung back nothing could be done. The ditch too could only be made where there had once been one before. And men whose land was some distance from the road would object to having the water diverted from the road towards their fields.

New roads were constantly being opened, if only because brothers were constantly dividing their father's property and setting up separate establishments. For the law said 'every field must have access to a public highway' and 'every house must have its road'. Consequently, the elders supervising the separation were careful to specify the exact direction and character of the old roads which the brothers might use and the new ones which they might make to and from their houses and fields. The laws were the same everywhere. If there were two brothers, each took half the father's field. When there was no cultivated land beyond this they might make no path at all or they might make a little path along the boundary between them, only two spans in width, as this was enough for their own needs. Naturally each set aside land for half its width; as this could not be worked, it was soon grass-grown. When there was someone else's field beyond their own and there was no other way of entering this, they were bound to leave a track wide enough for a horse laden with panniers of manure or for a pair of plough-oxen. As with a field-path the land for this track came from each.

A more complicated case occurred if three brothers inherited a field which had a public highway running along its length, and was divided into three longitudinal strips with the boundaries parallel to the highway. Let it be supposed that the family home remained in the central strip. A road to the highway from the inmost strip was a prime necessity. It was most economically made by constructing a path to the old road that connected the family home with the highway. But the new owner of the central strip might

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

487 object to its coming so near his house. In that case the elders
5?6 directed him and the owner of the outermost strip to leave land
423 elsewhere for it. As for the houses which the brothers in the innermost and outermost strips had to build, the former had only to see that his stood the canonical distance, the width of the eaves from his neighbour's boundary. The most convenient and economical site for the outermost brother to build on was a corner by the highway. But remembering that his dog might bite strangers and his children be trampled on by passing animals, he generally built his house with its back to the road and its yard facing his field. Alternatively, in Krasniqë, by what seems undue licence, he could ask his neighbour to remove the public highway to his land. If the latter owned waste ground or a hill close by, he was compelled by the elders to accede to the request. He could only refuse it by convincing them that in its new position the road would spoil his land.

487 New roads were sometimes necessitated by sales of land, and
423 might cause trouble. Suppose a field surrounded by four others was offered for sale and the owners of the surrounding fields were unable to buy it. Someone farther away, always described as a 'stranger', then bought it and demanded a road. The natural line for this was through the field between his purchase and his house. If the owner of this field objected, the stranger bade him buy the enclosed plot. When he refused, as he inevitably did, the stranger referred the case to the elders. If these, he said, could cite any previous purchaser of a field which had no way in and out, he could not claim the road. If, on the other hand, and this was sure to be the case, they found it was good law that 'land is never sold without a road' he had to have it. There was, as usual, no need to compensate the man whose land it took up. Fear of such complications made some men, when selling a piece of land, retain the adjoining road in case they themselves or their descendants wished to use it later on.

[491] A man was undisputed and sole master of the path that led across his field from a public thoroughfare to his house and ended there. According to the letter of the law, whatever the condition of the public road—good or bad, a sea of mud or even washed away in a winter storm—animals and wayfarers had to keep to it or to find another. They could not bypass the bad stretch by taking the path to the man's house; that was his private property, reserved for

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

that when next it was erected it was correctly sited, otherwise shooting began. In the Martanesh area the village headman, with two official and two unofficial assistants, was usually called in to set the fence up on the exact boundary line. If the offender moved it forward again, the elders sent word to his relatives that if he touched it again, there would be shooting. So restrained, he usually settled down.

An opening was never to be made in a fence by force or without the owner's leave. Only a foolish and 'lawless' man would do such a thing; it could only be the preliminary to using the field as a road, or to stealing something.

Fines were imposed as a deterrent. These amounted to 50 grosh in Turkish times and 100 koronë in the 1920's in the Malësi e Madhe, with 150 grosh and 3 rams in Kastrat in 1892; even if the offender closed the gap again, he had no right to make it in the first instance. If he destroyed a fence altogether in the marshes at the mouth of the Mat he was fined 250 grosh, five times the amount imposed for opening a way through it. If he did not pay the fine he was killed by the owner. As many as three lives have often been lost for one opening.

So with a wall in the marshland of the Mat. If it was holed, the owner asked the offender furiously if he was agreeable to having elders assess the damage. If the offender objected to assessment or refused payment, the owner shot him; at best he was sharply fined by the village. A breach in a fence or wall had always to be repaired by the owner.

Elsewhere manners were milder. In Martanesh there was no punishment at all for making a hole in a fence. In Perlat permission to make one was readily given either as a favour or in exchange for a passage through the other man's. In Fulqet a traveller could make one without leave if the highway was deep in mud and the only dry ground within reach was the field behind the fence. Often enough the owner of fence and field shot at him, but this was illegal; there was only one legitimate way of keeping the traveller to the muddy road. This was for the owner of field and fence to fill up the holes in the road with stones. If he took this trouble and the traveller still trespassed on his field he had full right to shoot him.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

Whoever brings pigs or sheep to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh. [681]
Whoever washes clothes at Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.[1] [231]

21. A man who leaves his sureties to pay his debt is to pay a fine of 225 grosh to his creditor and 150 grosh to the chiefs and 5 rams. [296]

VI. Supplement dated 1894.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 124–5.)

1. Whoever takes a woman to live with him without marrying her or runs off with a married woman or a girl shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 500 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams. [837]

2. Whoever tears his face in mourning and lamentation for the dead, shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 1000 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams. [765]

3. Whoever does not permit the chiefs and fine-collectors to carry out a tribal law will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams. [696]

4. Whoever commits a murder during a truce or after the feud has been compounded will be fined 6 purses and 10 rams. [628]

5. Whoever fires a rifle in a house where there is a wedding shall, whether he be a guest or the master of the house, pay 500 grosh and 5 rams. [585]

The same fine shall be paid by whoever annoys another with abuse at table whether at a dinner or a wedding.

6. Whoever acts contrary to these laws, whether he be chief, fine-collector, or commoner, shall pay 3000 grosh. [554]

Brahim Beg *serxherde*
Kasem Beg *bylikbash*
Dodë Prençi bajraktar
Zenel Shebani
Gjokë Doda
Keq Prela
Zef Gjeka
Prelë Toma
Gjelosh Nika
Vukusa' Leka
Brahim Vuksani

[In front of each of these names there is a Turkish seal.]

VII. Solemn Pledge for Flock and Shepherd in Nikaj and Shalë, St Prende's Day 1894.

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(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 119–20.)

1. As regards roads it has been enacted as follows:
From the fountain in Faqe to the crucifix in Brazhdë the road is

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: Shpellë is the place where Bajzë and district take water.)

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prende's Day, 1894]

681 solemnly pledged to safety for whoever goes to spend the night in Nikaj
[491] or Shalë. If any tribesman of Shalë who goes along this road is killed
[574] by a tribesman of Nikaj, the guest of all Shalë is killed, from dawn of day till the fall of night. If any tribesman of Nikaj who goes along this road is killed by a tribesman of Shalë, the guest of all Nikaj is killed, from the dawn of day till fall of night.

Between the same points the road is safe for Shosh and Mertur and is under the protection of Nikaj and Shalë. If a tribesman of Shosh kills a tribesman of Mertur he kills the guest of Shalë; if a tribesman of Mertur kills a tribesman of Shosh, he kills a guest of Nikaj.

[495] Whoever resorts to violence on this road must make an oath with twelve men taking the oath and twelve standing by.[1]

[233] 2. A flock and its shepherd are not to be killed by anyone; their safety is solemnly pledged and guaranteed. Any man who kills them must pay 20 purses or be killed and have his life equated to theirs.

3. If the pledge of safety is broken and a tribesman of one tribe kills during the period of pledge and guarantee and a tribesman of the other tribe does not so kill, twenty-four men of the tribe that had a man killed must take oath saying, 'You killed me when guaranteed'.

4. The whole road to Curraj up to the Krue i Ftofët (Cold Spring) is under a pledge of safety.

5. Mowers and reapers with scythe and sickle are under a pledge of safety in both summer and winter pasturages.

[313] Cutters of pine slivers and timber are under a perpetual pledge of safety.

[224] Shooters are under a pledge of safety from St Nicholas's Day in summer (May 9th) to St Nicholas's Day in winter (December 6th).

[312] A man irrigating during the night is under a pledge of safety.

6. A house with hearth and flour-bin and the keep of a house are not under a pledge of safety.

[231] Sheepfolds are under a pledge of safety.

7. If anyone goes out from the keep or the house in order to go to the sheepfold which is under a pledge of safety he must say, 'Look, man, we're going to the animals (or the fold), which are under a pledge of safety.'

[562] 8. As for women in Shkodër and Gjakovë:

If any of them wants herself to run away or to behave badly for the fun of it, good luck to her.

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: It was the custom in Dukagjin to make half, not all, of the jurors take an oath. If twenty-four jurors are ordered, twelve go and lay their hand on the Gospel and the other twelve stand listening with folded hands. In many mountain districts unless the principal person concerned excuses someone, it is the custom of all the jurors to go and lay their hand on the Gospel while repeating the words of the oath.)

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prendo's Day, 1894]

If any man meddles with one by force he has meddled with a person under a pledge of safety. [68]

If any man dishonours a woman or ravishes her he has meddled with a person under a pledge of safety.

The Gjklika family is not under a pledge of safety.

Ndue Lika's family is under a pledge of safety for its flock and shepherd.

9. Whoever touches sheep belonging to Nikaj or Shalë must pay 500 grosh or give a Martini rifle, the value of which is 500 grosh. He must also return two animals for every one stolen and pay 500 grosh to the owner of the stolen animals.

10. A detective is to receive 100 grosh for tracking down a sheep and twenty for tracking down a cow or an ox.

11. If a Nikaj or a Shalë man goes to a house to kill someone, he has leave to do whatever the fingers of his hand or the muzzle of his rifle can do. But chisels, wood and any form of iron are not to be used.

Whoever breaks this law, unless he is killed and buried, must pay 20 purses and until he pays them he must look out for his life. If he is killed, the matter must be left at a head for a head.

12. Whoever plays false to this pledge treating it with contempt or ignoring it must give an oath with 24 persons who must say they know nothing, as arranged by the other tribes. If he cannot give such an oath he must pay 20 purses like a man who kills another. [695]

13. A borrower who owes money to someone must go to the head of his ward. If he does not give this head satisfaction, he must go to the Bajraktar. If he does not give the Bajraktar satisfaction he is without protection. He may be robbed and killed until he enters the way of the Bajraktar.

14. The roads from Shalë and Nikaj to Shosh and Mertur are guaranteed by Shalë and Nikaj and if they are cut, 20 purses must be paid. [491]

15. The chapels (*koniqet*) of Nikaj and Shalë in which no candle is lit to St John, St Nicolas and St Bastian (Sebastian), are under a pledge of safety. [718]

16. Complaints in Shkodër and Gjakovë are annulled. [694]

VIII. Pledge for Flocks and Shepherds in Nikaj and Curraj, St John's Day, 1895.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 120.)

1. Any man who kills a shepherd will have his house burned down and his land kept untilled for three years.

2. His neighbours will not have their houses burned down but must pay five purses, 1000 grosh of it for the master of the feud and three purses for the guarantors.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926½) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1.

Rough Going

it survived. Fortunately, however, such obstacles were infrequent, for in many places a partly-finished metalled road made rapid progress possible. This road is evidence of the fact that the Government is alive to the necessity of grappling with the traffic problem and desirous of linking up all the principal towns by means of a lorry service. Even during my journey through the mountains between Podgradetz and Elbasan I saw men working here and there on bridges and on cuttings in the mountainside in readiness for the road which will some day carry the traffic between these two towns.

We left Elbasan soon after nine in the morning. Osman Arapi, the boy, and the youth, and also Mr. Lef Nossi, came to see me off. I have a vivid visual memory of the scene at the starting-point—a cobbled street with a tumble-down shop on the right full of rows of tin pots glittering in the sunshine, a yellow-walled house with a brown roof and bright blue window shutters on the left, ahead an old mosque with a rounded dome and an enormous cypress towering aloft into the azure sky.

As we crossed the plain, through olive groves, orchards, and fields of wheat and rye, the farther hills were misty, and the great three-peaked mountain near Berat, which stands up alone a giant among pigmies, was only just visible through the haze. Beyond were fields of oats already ripe and yellow, and maize—a later crop—still green. We stopped at a wayside fountain to quench our thirst and to change a tyre. On the hillside, where some olives cast a scanty shade,

[1] [from Elbasan to 259 Durazzo -- Analyst]

cure. The Mountain Ghegs also grow much fruit on trees near their houses. The chief species are quinces, pears, and apples.

Women have charge of milking the cows and making butter, curds, and cheese. Small boys are usually employed as shepherds, and lead their flocks high on the mountains. In the summertime many Gheg families drive their cattle up to the Alpine meadows on the mountain passes, and keep them there weeks at a time while they make butter and cheese. While on these heights they live in small temporary houses (fig. 8, *c*).[1] The people of Klementi, however, who live in high valleys, drive their flocks to the plain of Scutari every year for winter pasture.

Animal husbandry furnishes the Ghegs not only with much of their food, but also with a supply of energy, for they use oxen in ploughing, and horses for travel and the transport of goods. In the wintertime they keep their cows and horses indoors, while the pigs, in Catholic regions, have special sties. Late winter and early spring is the season when food is scarce. The corncrib may be empty, and only the seed corn hanging in bunches from the walls will remain untouched. The cows are dry, and the flitches of pork and bacon gone from the ceiling.

This is the time when the mountain people, their tempers more and more irritable, used to turn to raiding, and while some rustled each other's animals, others came down out of the mountains to steal cattle from the people on the plains. Mirdita raided Zadrima, and Mati raided the low country around Elbasan. This annual hunger was the result of a complete economic occupance of the land, coupled with an excess of births over deaths. Raiding brought in more food, but feuding caused more deaths. Between the two, plus a certain amount of emigration, the balance was reached.

Transportation in Ghegnia was, in 1929, as poor as anywhere in Europe. There were a certain number of roads over which people could walk, in some places ride animals, and in most, carry goods on animal back. In a few places the trails were too steep for animals, and men had to pack in goods by pannier. The principal road, which will be described later,[2] goes from Scutari and Lesh by way of Vau i Denjës to Puka, then on to Kukës, and across

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[462]
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1 [See cat. 116, p. 109. - Analyst
2 [See cat. 116 p. 42a - Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)195o EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Gheg:

491 the border to Prizren. This was an old Roman road, and has probably not changed much in a thousand years. At Kukës another road meets it, running south along the Black Drin to Peshkopia and outside Gheg country to Lake Ochrida and Korça. Parts of this road had been widened for vehicular traffic in 1929, but the wide pieces had not been connected. It is said that both these roads have been opened for motor traffic since the Italian occupation.

Another trail goes from Tirana to Zall, thence to Gur i Bardh in Mati, through Klos, across the divide to Bulçiz in Dibra, and thence to Peshkopia. This is the principal route between the new capital and the important region to the northeast. Still another passes from Lesh to Bureli in Mati (fig. 9, *c*), following the banks of the Mati River. Bureli, now a prefect station, has grown important only with the Zog regime. From Bureli one can proceed to the northern Catholic country of Lura and Kthella, and thence down into Dibra, but the road is little traveled. North of the Drin a trail passes from Scutari to Shoshi over the Gur i Kutch, but in winter this is impassable. On the other side there is a road from Kukës across the Drin through the *bairaks* of Bituç, Gashi, and Krasniqi, past Merturi, into Shoshi (fig. 8, *d*). In winter this can be passed by men but not animals. Hence in wintertime no animal traffic can enter either Shoshi, or Shala which lies to its north. Before the boundary was drawn between Albania and Yugoslavia the road from Tropova, in Gashi (Malsia e Jakovës), to Jakova was much traveled; but now this is forbidden and the people of this tribe must go to market in Kukës.

492 As far as any considerable traffic is con-
482 cerned, horseback and human back are the only methods of land transport available in Ghegnia. In a few of the flatter places, however, other means are used locally for short
493 distances. In the country around Scutari just below the mountains, the farmers use carts, particularly in Zadrima. In Luma, on the flat land at the confluence of the Drins, and in Has on the other side, carts are likewise used, as well as ox-drawn summer sleds.

491 Crossing streams is not a simple matter in Ghegnia. Most of the crossings are fjords, and very cold. I have seen men strip naked to swim across icy rivers in search of a place for

ANALYS--
1 [see Cat 116, p 109
-196-

491 animals to cross, and have waded up to my chin at night, with snow on either bank. When the streams are swollen, animals and men are not infrequently drowned. There is or was an old Turkish bridge across the White Drin, from Kukës to the northern bank (fig. 9, *b*). Several wooden bridges crossed the Black Drin in Dibra. On the road from Krasniqi to Shoshi, I have crossed a bridge which consisted of 2 poles, one to walk on, the other a little higher and to one side, to use as a rail.

501 In a few places, ferry boats are available, which operate by the principle of changing the mooring position of the cable after each crossing, so that the power of the stream will push the boat diagonally across to the other bank. There was one such at Kukës across the Black Drin, another at Bureli over the Mati. Other observers have witnessed Ghegs crossing these streams on inflated skins, but I have never seen it.

Navigation in Ghegnia is very limited. Although Nopcsa has a picture of a man in a boat at Merturi, I have seen it only on the lower course of the Drin, between Vau i Denjës and Scutari, where special boatmen ferry passengers to town in a few hours, to save the day's march over the road. These boats are long dugout canoes, usually double. The boatman propels them by sculling, like the gondoliers of Venice. The men who run the ferries, and these boatmen on the lower Drin, are without doubt specialists, as nearly fulltime as the traffic requires. Probably not more than a dozen men ply these trades. Much more numerous are the *kiragis*, the professional horse-drivers who may be seen on all of the roads in Moslem country, and in some Catholic tribes as well. The *kiragis* in our series were Dibra men, but others come from outside the tribal area, from such places as Elbasan and Tirana.

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The *kiragi* is a hard-bitten man, disillusioned early in life by a close observation of human behavior under stress, since all travel in Ghegnia is difficult. He is a non-combatant, a man with no family ties in the regions in which he works, and not worth killing. Anyone who robs him too often will keep trade away and cut off the supply of needed imports. He will rent out anywhere from one to a half dozen horses, to go anywhere the road will take him, and the rate per day has to be argued over at length. He insists on taking grain for his

1/1 [See cat. 116, p. 109.--Analyst]

175 The evidence is excellent that in Roman times the geographical division of labor, by means of which the mountaineers exchanged their raw materials for processed goods in bordering market towns, had already begun. Since the earliest archaeological material in Albanian sites is either of Bosnian, Thracian, or Roman manufacture, this system must have been in force from the beginning of the Illyrian settlement. On the Adriatic side of the mountains small Roman trading posts have been located archaeologically at Berzumno (Vuksanlekaj, north of Scutari), Cinna (Koplik), and Iminacum (Iballja, in Puka).[11] The Romans also occupied Scutari (Scodra), Lesh (Lissus), and Durazzo (Dyrachium), and connected these 3 market towns with a road.

175 491 At Durazzo this road turned eastward from the coast and went across country, following the lowest gap in the Dinaric chain north of the Gulf of Corinth, over to Lychnidus on Lake Ochrida. This highway skirted but did not traverse the Gheg mountains, crossing the Black Drin just south of the present tribal boundary of Dibra.

Another road, however, went straight across the mountains from Lissus (Lesh) south of the Drin.[12] It apparently followed the same course as the modern road which goes from Vau i Denjës in Zadrima to Puka, across the Mal i Zi and down to the bank of the Black Drin just a short distance south of its confluence with the White Drin. This road follows the south bank of the White Drin for about 18 miles, at which point the river makes a sharp bend to the north.

In Roman times the country beyond the confluence of the 2 Drins was part of the province of Upper Moesia. The road continued across this province to a place called Ulpiana in the Kossovo plain, probably near the modern town of Prishtina. From Ulpiana it went on to the Morava valley where it reached the river at Nissa, the modern city of Niš. This road was not the only Roman highway which crossed the Dinaric Alps from the Adriatic into the modern city of Niš. It was only one of 3 methods of getting from the Adriatic coast to the Danube valley over-

1 [see p. 42 b - Analyst]

[11] Nopcsa, 1910, p. [31].

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land. Far to the north, a highway connected Senia (Zengg) just south of Fiume, with Siscia (Zagreb or nearby) and the route down the Save. From Spalatum (Split) too it was possible to cross the watershed on Roman pavement. The *Via Ignatia*, across central Albania, offered a longer route to Niš, for at Heraclium (Bitolj) it met at right angles a road going north and south, one branch of which passed, via Scupi (Skoplje), to Ulpiana.

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The Drin road cannot have been the most comfortable of these various routes. Although the Romans must have kept it in repair, there is little evidence of it left today. It can never have been suitable for wheeled traffic, for it is narrow, twisting, and steep, consisting in places of steps, hewn in the rock or built of masonry. For 2 nights the travelers must have slept in Gheg mountain territory. This means that the Romans must have built fortified stations for this purpose. The first night would take them to Picaria (Çeret?), the second to Creveni, near either the present Spash or Parmchi, on the south bank of the Drin a few miles below the confluence. The third night would take them out on the plain, on the way to Ulpiana. A Roman settlement at Gabuleum, somewhere near Gonaj or Zum in present-day Has territory, may have been the spot.

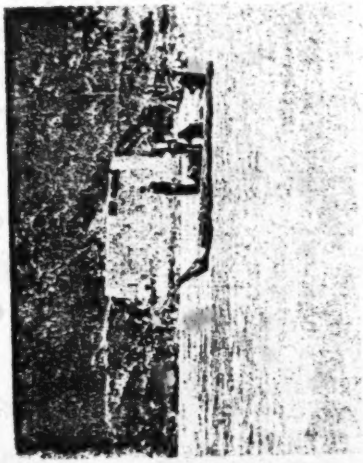
The transport of goods over this road, with processed materials moving east and raw materials west, must have furnished a strong temptation to the mountaineers on either side. The Romans must have kept it guarded, for otherwise ambushes would have been easy. Garrisons mean troops, and troops mean fraternization between imported soldiery and the local population. Perhaps many of the soldiers were recruited from Gheg tribes a short distance from their posts. Even so, some must have been outsiders, and we may expect that the genetic capsule of Ghegnia became somewhat unsealed during Roman times along the highway. This would affect principally the tribe of Puka, across which much of the road passes, and also the tribes of Luma and Has, which it skirts.

After the decay of the Western Empire the

[18] Shepherd, 1921, map 39; Kiepert, 1894, map XVII, Illyricum et Thracia.

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGl Albania EGl
Highland Ghegs

291
491



4, Tosks dancing at King Zog's birthday party, 1929. b, Turkish bridge over the White Drin, near Kiina. c, Scene in Mati. d, Ferrying across the Black Drin between Lama and Mal i Zi.

buildings, fortress-like structure and small windows. House types thus serve as a clear index to the amount of feuding in any particular area. Where veranda houses prevail, conditions are fairly peaceful. This factor explains the almost mutually exclusive distribution of kulas and veranda houses in mountain areas, although how far this is borne out in lowland areas, I am unable to say. 341 578

Location and Types of Settlements. In the mountain regions west of Lake Scutari to Lake Ohrid one finds single farmsteads comprising one or two buildings. Only in the plains and at the foot of the mountains does one find Cvijić's Ibar type of settlements (Nopcsa, 1925: 6). This type is characterized by widely spaced, dense hamlets (Cvijić, 1918: 219). In southern Albania the village form is variable but agglomerated villages with crooked roads predominate (Cvijić, 1925: 224, Map IV). 361 [133] [341] [491]

House Types. Buildings of wickerwork and plaster are found only in the coastal plains, and even there they are rare (fig. 47). In the extreme north one finds houses of boards or logs. Most buildings are of stone; one finds some use of dry masonry, but generally mortar is used. Stone is preferred because it gives protection from fire and gunshot. In south and central Albania bond timbers are inserted into the stone walls; this pattern is lacking in northern Albania. The combination of stone foundation and wooden second story, found in Serbia, Bosnia, Rumania and Siebenburgen is missing in Albania (Nopcsa, 1925: 30). 342 184 [171]

Roofing may be of straw, shingles, slate, stone slabs or tiles. The simplest buildings in the mountains have roofs of corn stalks. Tiles are common both in the coastal and mountain regions. Roofing of stone slabs is widely distributed; most dairy houses in the high mountains are covered in this manner (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). High shingled roofs, common in Bosnia and eastern Montenegro, are found only in the extreme north of Albania. Gabled roofs predominate north of the Drin River; south of it one finds hipped roofs. Widely projecting eaves are absent. The kulas may have low pyramidal roofs and occasionally desk roofs. In general, roofs tend to be flat. When the roof is hipped, the chimney tends to be in the center of the short side (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). Chimneys are not typical. [171]

The simplest type of house is the one-room log house with a low roof of short thick shingles. Cracks in the wall are stuffed with moss; windows are lacking, and light enters through the open door and openings in the roof. The open fireplace has hung over it a deflector of boards plastered with mud; smoke escapes through the roof (Nopcsa, 1925: 33). 342 [354]

In the coastal regions of northern Albania, reed is abundant and walls are made of woven reeds. The roof is likewise of reeds. These buildings are generally plastered on the outside. Occasionally the roof is of unfired bricks (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). [824] [184]